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Limbur ravine below the valley floor. These villagers played a smaller part than the others in my observations. 361 162

On the western side of the valley are three closely allied villages with contiguous boundaries: Diktinge (both the old and new sites) and its hamlet of Malyumnung with a population of 114, Alyrkuweni with 95 people, and Karitza with 56. The remaining 50 of the approximate total of six hundred people on the valley floor and adjacent slopes occupy isolated field houses or are quite constantly absent on visits to other communities.

Although the villages are not rigorously stereotyped in ground plan, a general description can be given that covers the main features of all of them. Each village has from one to seven dance places, the number being roughly equivalent to the number of patrilineal lineages (*biets*). On each dance place is located at least one of the large lineage houses (*kadang*), which is occupied by one branch only of the lineage. Around the edge of the dance place are the flat gravestones of the patrilineal dead of the community. From one dance place to another runs a narrow trail, along which other houses are sometimes strung. 361

Each village has a "head" and a "tail," where property is located a carving of the village guardian spirit (*ulema*). The gardens and fields run to the very eaves of the houses, and during the rainy season corn and tobacco frequently screen the houses from each other. The fields then spread outward to spots an hour or more distant from the main village. Throughout these fields are temporary shelters, which are inhabited at the convenience of the owners. The tendency to decentralize habitation has undoubtedly been encouraged by the cessation of head-hunting in the last twenty years. [342]

It is not necessary here to go into detail concerning either the social implications of village planning or the structure and types of houses. Neither of these aspects of living is rigorously formalized — a statement that holds true for almost all phases of Atimelang life. However, a general picture is necessary for orientation. The lineage houses and dance places are manifestations of a primarily patrilocal residence and the basis of social clusterings. The outward expression of such social groupings around the lineage house are the other less pretentious buildings (*fala* and *tofa*), the guesthouse (*nvng tofa*), and various spirit sheds of the family group. 361 613 391

The larger houses of the kadang and fala types are pyramidal thatched structures raised on four piles protected by massive wooden disks, which prevent rats from climbing up the posts into the house. Beneath each house is a low verandah generally used for lounging but sometimes also 342

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Theoretically, residence is pat-
• 591 rilocal, yet there are several instances in which it is matrilocal. Theoretically too, the brothers of the family form the powerful or senior in-group and live around a common dance plaza as a lineage complex. Actually, brothers who cannot get along amicably will scatter. For example, Manifani of Dikimpe, as the eldest brother, lived on his lineage dance place in New Dikimpe; the second brother lived on the dance place of Old Dikimpe; the third had moved to the offspring hamlet of Dikimpe called Maiyamsaang; and their two half brothers, by the same father but a different mother, lived at opposite ends of their mother's village of Atimelang. This example is not important in itself, but it does illustrate nicely the flexibility of residence that exists in practice. It can of course be balanced by several instances in which brothers follow the traditional pattern. Expediency and interpersonal relationships outweigh theory and dictate arrangements.

428 Expediency and the industry of the child also determine the inheritance of land; a child is usually given a garden plot as soon as he is old enough to work productively. Both men and women own fields inherited from their fathers or mothers.

242 Dry rice is in all probability the oldest staple of the area, but at present millet has replaced it as the daily food and rice is reserved largely for feasts. There is a local belief that "rice makes you fat and corn
[428] makes you strong." A fat body is the criterion of health. In addition to rice and corn there is a large range of other foods, including millet, beans, sweet potatoes, cassava, taro, and a wide variety of tubers. Fruits include oranges, mangoes, papayas, breadfruit, jack fruit, and many kinds of bananas.

442 Theoretically, women are responsible for the cultivation and collec-
[428] tion of all vegetable foods, and theory is reinforced by giving them ownership of all plant produce, regardless of the land and labor men may have invested in its production. Men, on the other hand, control
436 the financial system and the three currencies through which it operates—pigs, gongs, and metal kettledrums called mokos. Arrows too are used for money but only as small change. The monetary value of pigs
435 is highly inflated in relation to their consumption value. Their flesh is
242 rarely eaten except at feasts, in order that their value may be added to the interminable and complex monetary accounting that is basic to ceremonial procedure. In fact, should a pig be killed accidentally, a ceremonial feast of one sort or another is improvised to justify its consumption.

436 Of the three currencies, mokos are undoubtedly the coin of the realm. They range through unequal steps from the value of one rupiah

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OF So far the discussion of marriage has stressed in large part social forces, their possible repercussions on behavior, and their relationship to personality formations. It may be pertinent at this point to insert certain information on the Atimelang[illegible] more intimate sex behavior and their ideas of procreation.

[33] It is very common for groups of young people, who are beginning [34] to take gardening seriously, to congregate in field houses and live together more or less consistently for days or months at a time. This is an accentuation of "playing house" among children. Sometimes an older woman or a married couple is the nucleus of such a group, sometimes a pair of young girls or an orphaned boy. Although everyone vigorously [35] denies that "irregular" sexual relations occur under these circumstances, it is perfectly obvious from the autobiographies that they sometimes do. Strict parents usually insist that their daughters return to the family house at night. The absence from the home at nightfall of young or adult men is rarely questioned, but the absence of women and children often leads to a shouted inquiry as to their whereabouts. It is one of the frequent sounds that echoes across the valley as people settle down in their houses after sunset.

[32] Intercourse is solicited of young women by touching their breasts. A common euphemism for intercourse is "to pull a girl's breasts," since it is supposed that no woman can avoid being aroused by such a caress or would be able to resist a man who approached her in this fashion. Opportunities for this sort of approach are offered at dances and in the roughhousing that occurs among young people when they are away from their elders. In describing this situation one young man said, "Our hands move about at random and touch a girl's breast. That makes her spirit fly away, and she has to sleep with a man." If what has been said about early childhood experiences and about the role women are expected to play is correct, it is not surprising that most erogenous feeling [37] centers on women's breasts. For a woman to touch a man's genitals is considered completely shameless. A less drastic form of soliciting intercourse is to tug at either a man's or a woman's hand. In marriage people usually wait until they think everyone else in the living room is asleep. [33] Then either partner may indicate desire by giving his spouse a short, tugging pat anywhere on the body. The woman is supposed to remove her loincloth, since the contact with it would be disgusteful to the man.

The position in intercourse is ventroventral with the woman below or with both partners on their sides. Any other position is considered rather nasty. In fact, one divorce was partly precipitated, according to [36] the wife, by her husband's demands for the dorsoventral position. One